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ABSTRACT

A project was initiated to begin the process of devising and implementing antiracist strategies for curriculum development and related institutional change in a multiracial adult education division in Sheffield, England. Phase I attempted to do this by carrying out a review of current provision to reflect the needs and interests of a multiracial community, by a preliminary examination of selected areas of the adult education curriculum, and by consideration of initial ideas for alternative teaching and learning materials and methods. A survey of community perceptions of adult education provision included an examination of the effectiveness of existing publicity. Recommendations were made regarding positive portrayals of target groups and translation into community languages. A survey outside polling centers showed that perceptions of adult education were very confused. Community groups were also viewed too often as a homogeneous group of people, although a variety of ethnic and racial groups were represented. The main emphasis of the project was an examination of selected examples of the adult education curriculum that drew on black students' perceptions. Both general and specific recommendations were made. Formal and informal interviews with staff were conducted to determine staff development and support needs. Recommendations focused on staff induction, antiracist training, and special support for black staff. (YLB)

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BLACK PERSPECTIVES ON ADULT EDUCATION

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BLACK PERSPECTIVES ON ADULT EDUCATION

Identifying the needs

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RP326

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FOREWORD

Although other FEU projects and publications with a multicultural context have included reference to adult education and training and drawn on the views of adults on FE provision, this (RP326) is the first which has focused directly on adult education provision for a multicultural community.

Because of this, and because the findings indicate a number of issues which may relate to the experience of many LEAs and require prompt attention, FEU is, unusually, publishing an interim report on this project. The second phase, which involves the implementation of the phase I recommendations in Sheffield's local structure of adult (now tertiary) education and in several areas of the adult education (AE) curriculum, will be completed in 1989.

The advantage of publishing an interim report, written in a refreshingly direct and sometimes hard-hitting style by staff close to and involved in the local context, is its immediate impact. Many AE practitioners will recognise, often uncomfortably, the kinds of problems and barriers that Sheffield has faced.

We recognise, of course, that all urban areas and the communities that live in them, whether of ethnic minority or majority background, have their special characteristics. It is one of the strengths of the AE tradition in Britain that it has responded to the local context, developing very differently in different parts of the country. The findings of this project are, however, borne out both by previous research in this field* and, judging by responses FEU has had to the draft of this report, the experiences of those working in other inner-city AE systems.

The text produced by the project team has been subjected to as little FEU editing as possible. Some of its messages are disturbing and the agenda for change suggested by the report is extensive. The authority is now implementing a programme of change based on the recommendations, and we hope to be able to report on progress in the final report.

Readers may note that many of the points made in this report (for example those on marketing and publicity, and on tailoring provision to community needs) apply with equal force to AE in any context. This is hardly surprising since, in modern societies, high quality educational provision is by definition provision which is appropriate to a multicultural society.

The report also reinforces the message of FEU and others that effective ways of tackling racism will only develop if the broad range of problems associated with discrimination and poverty are tackled together.

FEU commends this document and its recommendations to the attention of all who have responsibility for the delivery of education to adults. We would also like to record our thanks to Jeet Khosa, and her team, who carried out the research and survey work with a sensitivity and determination which is reflected in the text of this report.

Dennis Drysdale
Deputy Chief Officer
Further Education Unit

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* See *Black Perspectives in FE Provision* (FEU, 1985) and *Adult Education and the Black Communities* (NIACE, 1983). The report of the FEU REPLAN project RP253, to be published under the title *Educational Guidance : New Responses for Inner Cities*, is also relevant.

1. INTRODUCTION

Aims of the project

The project intended to begin the process of devising and implementing anti-racist strategies for curriculum development and related institutional change in a multiracial adult education (AE) division. Phase I attempted to do this by carrying out a review of current provision to reflect the needs and interests of a multiracial community, by a preliminary examination of selected areas of the AE curriculum, and by considering initial ideas for alternative teaching and learning materials and methods.

Background

The project is located in the Sheaf Valley Division of the Sheffield Adult Education Service, which serves a population of approximately 70,000 in the southern sector of the city, primarily in the inner city. In September 1988, following tertiary reorganisation, the division became part of Norton College.

Unemployment figures in the division range from some of the highest in the city (30.9%) to well below the city average (10.6%). The division includes some almost entirely White areas, and some with a Black population of around 15%.

Of the three main AE centres, one is located in the all-White suburban area and is used almost exclusively by a White mainly middle-class clientele. The second is in a multiracial area with users drawn mainly from a similar social grouping but with some provision for adult unemployed. The third is in the most depressed area of the division and is heavily used by local working-class students, unemployed adults and, in some classes, Black communities.

Project methods

Initially the project worker spent some time familiarising herself with the area, making contacts with people from the five different community groups (Chinese, Somali, Afro-Caribbean, Bangladeshi and Pakistani). Initial informal interviews were held with staff. A questionnaire was drawn up to gauge community perceptions of AE and used a month after the beginning of the project.

A curriculum group was set up to facilitate the preliminary examination of selected curriculum areas. The areas agreed for investigation included:

— New Technology;

— ESL Linked Skills;

— Health Education;

— Creative Writing and 16+ English;

— Heavy Arts and Crafts.

Classes, enrolment sessions and workshops were visited and staff and students interviewed over the period of a term. In addition to assisting in determining staff-development needs, four workshops were held — one for full-time staff, another for part-timers and two for support staff (clerical and crèche workers).

The project was monitored by a steering group including representatives of the Black communities and organisations as well as LEA and AE representatives.

2. PUBLICITY AND SERVICE DELIVERY

LEA policy

The City Council general policy for AE in 1987 includes the following objectives:

— to provide easy access to services by using a variety of premises, especially in areas of greatest need;

— to foster co-operation and consultation with other agencies;

— to continue provision of basic education for adults who wish to improve their literacy, numeracy and social skills, especially for elderly, mentally ill and disabled people;

— to continue provision for minority ethnic people and develop a comprehensive anti-racist strategy;

— to continue work related to the special needs of women, with provision of daytime and residential courses with crèche support;

— to extend political education for tenants and residents, the unemployed and the council workforce, to give a better understanding of the local economy;

— to extend access to education for all;

— to continue to resource community-based provision for unemployed people.

The city's AE section has produced its own policy, entitled *A Framework for Combating Racism*. Although the policy has now been approved, implementation had not begun at the end of the project. The following are key points from this policy:

> The basic problem to be tackled is that of White racism. This exists within the Authority in a variety of forms which affects its performance both as an employer and a provider of services.

The aims of the policy are to:

— develop ways of eradicating institutional racism throughout the AE service;

— challenge racism through empowering Black people as employees, students and users within the education service;

— develop curricula for White students, users and staff to combat racism.

Additional action points for staff, as part of a comprehensive list covering management structure, marketing/publicity, curriculum, staff development and service delivery, include:

— anti-racist training for the whole service;

— anti-racist materials for curriculum groups in AE, to assist them to use the material effectively and develop it further;

— training in different strategies, to be adopted when staff are faced with various forms of racism;

— examining all aspects of the curriculum, existing practice (content and materials) and service delivery from an anti-racist and multicultural standpoint.

It shall be the responsibility of the manager of the establishment to ensure that everyone who works there, in whatever capacity, is able to take up the opportunities for anti-racist training.

Under implementation and monitoring, the policy further goes on to state:

> Each establishment should review and evaluate the implementation of anti-racist policies through an Anti-Racist Committee (ARC). Where the establishment has a mainly White community and/or all-White staff, representation on the committee should be invited from Black groups outside the area.

Priorities

The division offers a wide range of educational opportunities for adults. Priorities are daytime work focused on women and the unemployed, community-based provision, informal strategies such as drop-in workshops aimed at disadvantaged groups least likely to take up educational opportunities, work with the elderly, basic education, ESL and linked skills. Over the past five years there has been a massive shift of resources from the outlying areas to work in the inner city (now constituting 80% of divisional spending), and from mainstream provision to basic education, ESL, second chance and work with ethnic minority groups.

Staff are however aware that location of courses at a neighbourhood base in a community centre does not necessarily ensure that provision reaches these groups as courses, groups and activities can still be filled by the more mobile, largely White, middle classes.

Over the past year or so, the division has moved on from discussions concerned with policy towards a far greater concern with implementing the policy changes in practice, in terms of student recruitment, type of provision and curriculum.

Publicity

The project began with a survey of community perceptions of AE provision which raises questions about the effectiveness of existing publicity in reaching the main target populations for AE provision. As a consequence, leaflets, posters and other sources of publicity were examined to determine reasons for this apparent lack of success.

The leaflets produced are generally poorly printed; the print is often faint and difficult to read. The difficulty is compounded by a cramped layout. The brochures often contain tabulated information which involves the use of symbols and reference to a 'key' indicating the days and times when classes are held. This mode of presentation is complicated and confusing to the eye. Only those motivated enough to work out the symbols and search for a particular class would be successful in decoding the information.

On some leaflets, certain courses are italicised or printed in block capitals and, as a result, are more eye-catching. Careful attention and thought needs to be given to which parts of the leaflet/brochure are set in different print and which courses, if any, are highlighted. The brochure for 1986/7 uses block print for some classes, for example:

— Keep Fit/Aerobics,

— Knitting Machine Club,

— Yoga for Men and Women,

— String Quartet,

— French Club,

— Community Orchestra,

— Good Companions,

— Gingerbread, etc.

These courses are in fact privately run classes, not financially supported by the LEA, and yet the impression given is that AE is to do with keep fit, yoga and music for White people. This brochure is entirely in English, except for a small boxed section on the back in Urdu. All the information about fees, when to enrol, etc. is in English.

The leaflets are generally ethnocentric, using White faces in illustrations. The divisional brochure for 1985/6 has a shaded face wearing English dress. This shading technique is an unsatisfactory method of depicting an ethnic minority student if this is what is intended. A cartoon showing mother and children is of White faces only. The frame of the page is made up of faces among which are Black ones. However, as a result of very poor print, the features on these faces have been obscured and the result is a black featureless oval. There is no indication, beyond a few lines in Urdu, that AE is reaching out to Asian and Afro-Caribbean communities.

One brochure includes a cartoon (see Figure 1) which is the only pictorial representation other than the images on the front.

Figure 1

The man in a suit wearing a pince nez and carrying a briefcase is reminiscent of the stereotypical professor, and the young girl of the 'outdated' trendy university student. Both are White. Given the high rate of unemployment and numbers of Black people in the area, the image is inappropriate and conveys the notion that AE is for the employed middle classes.

The section on languages has a cartoon at the beginning (see Figure 2). The flag, the GB on the rear of the car and the signpost suggest that language classes are for those who can afford foreign holidays. Again the faces are White and the languages on offer solely European. The brochure has little on it that would attract Black people.

Figure 2

Other aspects of publicity and marketing

So far, this section has been primarily concerned with 'paper' publicity. However, interviews with students and the community reveal that much reliance is placed upon 'word of mouth'. Although this can be effective, there are inherent dangers. Information may be communicated by tutor to student, student to student, student to non-user, non-user to non-user, non-teaching staff to student, and so on, with a strong possibility of misinformation at each stage of this chain. Interviews with students also show that those attending classes within a centre have little or no knowledge of what else takes place in the same centre.

These students will therefore only pass on information about that class and 'impressions' of what they think happens in the centre. This leads to misinformation and misconceptions. There is also the danger that relying on word-of-mouth publicity simply reinforces the social composition of existing students. If the Black communities are under-represented or if certain groups (e.g. Bengali) are apparently excluded, the danger is that word-of-mouth publicity will not reach them. Direct publicity through community 'grapevines' is very important in closely knit communities. However, new strategies specifically suited to each community are required, using 'agencies' that are known and respected in that particular community.

There is the added danger that staff may direct prospective students to classes according to their own images, expectations and stereotyping of students. Hence, one might have the situation where Black students are directed towards English as a Second Language (ESL) or Adult Basic Education (ABE) provision simply because they are Black. Similarly, White working class students may be directed towards ABE or practical areas like woodwork or welding, White women students to sewing, etc. Clearly there are issues of class, gender and race involved here.

Outreach workers provide an indispensable vehicle for publicity, especially if they speak different languages. In addition, tutors' outreach roles need to be clearly defined. Outreach workers and tutors should be equipped with an overview of AE in order that they can inform people about provision. Outreach workers should feed back community needs and perceptions to divisional decision-making structures to enable change to take place.

Similarly, effective consultative links could be forged between AE and other agencies like social services, family and community services, the Youth Service, Careers Service, residents' associations, ethnic minority group associations, Black Parents' Action Group, and so on. These could serve to enhance the quality of publicity and ensure that provision was not only effectively marketed to Black communities, but that they take a sense of 'ownership' of and influence on AE provision.

Public face of establishment

Currently almost all posters and information in centres are displayed in English and there are very few images of black people. The reception areas are at times not staffed. Frequently there are no Black or bilingual staff present, although there are regular enquiries from non-English speakers.

Enrolment is generally chaotic and confusing. The rooms are crowded and people have to wait in long queues. Student interviews reveal that there is a great deal of dissatisfaction about the way enrolment is conducted.

Although there are a substantial number of Muslims and non-English users at Mount Pleasant, the cafeteria does not provide *halal* meat dishes or food familiar to ethnic minorities.

Conclusions and recommendations

It is clear that there should be a review of current publicity if it is to reach all people in the community. It is important that educational jargon is avoided; words like 'crèche', 'numeracy', 'literacy', 'familiarisation' and 'session', and terms like 'day-check' may be unfamiliar. The leaflets and brochures should convey positive images of black people in their illustrations. It is crucial that differences in dress and so on are shown in the illustrations and that Pakistanis, Bengalis, Afro-Caribbeans, Somalis, Chinese and so on are indicated.

Other forms of publicity need to be reviewed and new strategies developed appropriate to new target groups. Strategies using word-of-mouth publicity are important but need to be designed to reach particular groups. Outreach workers need to be adequately briefed on all aspects of provision (not just ESL and ABE) and to have experience of and credibility in target communities. Mechanisms for consultation with the different communities and their organisational and social or religious centres need to be developed. The public face and ethos of centres - methods of enrolment and reception as well as posters and facilities - need to be reviewed.

The leaflets and brochures ought to be translated into at least Chinese, Somali, Urdu/Punjabi and Bengali. This distribution should be wider and more extensive publicity is required in local (Chinese/Pakistani) shops, take-aways, restaurants, video shops and other places regularly used by local people.

In addition to changes in presentation, translation into community languages and illustrations showing Black people, publicity needs to reflect in its programme that AE caters for Black people. In other words, alongside the message conveyed by anti-racist presentation, there should be clearly outlined courses which show Black people that their presence is acknowledged and reflected in the programme of provision. It is also crucial that publicity indicates pictorially and verbally that Black people are expected to take up 'mainstream' provision.

The survey of community perceptions shows that there is a need for publicity to make clear that there are opportunities for those who want to gain qualifications and increase their chances of employment as well as for those who seek education for leisure and self-improvement.

3. COMMUNITY PERCEPTIONS OF ADULT EDUCATION PROVISION

Introduction

A survey, using a questionnaire, was conducted outside two polling centres to discover community perceptions of AE provision. Polling afforded an ideal opportunity to 'catch' a cross-section of the population.

The questionnaire revealed that perceptions of AE were very confused; for example 52% thought that payment was always demanded and although 83% of the sample had heard of AE there was considerable confusion around when it happened. Just under half the respondents had not seen any publicity; those who had pointed to leaflets and library as their sources of information.

Of the 56 people who had seen any publicity, 46 were past users and seven current users. Most people had made self-motivated efforts to gain information about the classes. Publicity did not reach people who do not know where to look and are not well motivated. Only three out of 46 past users had seen any recent publicity. However, almost all of them expressed an interest in attending future classes.

Non-users

The respondents indicated that their main reasons for not coming were time constraints and lack of interest in the classes provided. When asked if there was anything that might interest them, 26 out of 39 responded positively. Their interests included electronics, gym facilities, sewing, upholstery, dancing, book-keeping, making videos, Urdu, cake icing, gardening, yoga, local history, music appreciation, English literature, Black history, and Spanish.

Nearly half the respondents felt unable to comment on changes in provision. Some felt that provision for women, the unemployed, ESL, the handicapped and the mentally ill had dramatically improved. No one indicated that provision had worsened.

Black community perceptions

It is evidently important in developing and implementing an anti-racist curriculum to consider the 'needs' of Black groups and to look at reasons why these groups in particular fail to take up existing provision.

Amongst the suggestions made in *Community Inquiry Report* (Sheffield LEA, August 1985), under 'Community themes and special needs', were:

— There needs to be an adequate consultation process developed between the council and the community, with clearer channels of communication.

— Each centre should be managed by a co-ordinating committee which should ensure access for all groups and appoint a 'troubleshooter' to sort out any problems over bookings and access.

Many submissions to the inquiry said that AE classes are over-subscribed and also make several points about their availability.

There was no response from the Afro-Caribbean community. The responses from minority ethnic groups were from Asians and nearly all responses were from the inner city areas.

In November 1985 the Ethnic Minorities Panel (now known as the Race Equality Unit) produced a report, along with Family and Community Services, which made specific recommendations to the council about how to begin to meet the social and community needs of Sheffield's Asian population. This survey, too, met with little response from the council. It uncovered low credibility for the council among almost all sections of the Black community, due to the apparent failure to make any tangible response to successive reports and recommendations.

The Asian Welfare Association, in a report entitled *A Brief Introduction to the Asian Community of Sheffield and the Origin of its Problems*, stated:

> 'What is lacking is an understanding of the Asian community and its trust in research workers — the mistrust for white research workers is an inadvertent side effect of the interest shown in the community, produced by the powers given to the police ... Now the questionnaire is a basic tool of research but questions about their origin — why they came here, when did they come, how many children do they have and what problems do they face — closely resemble the questions asked by immigration officers and are seen suspiciously as another instrument to facilitate the imposition of racial immigration laws.'

The danger of any research project setting out to 'identify needs' is increasingly that it is merely serving to give the impression that 'they' are merely trying to give an appearance of interest with no intention of translating researched needs into action. Action must be taken in order to try and gain the trust and confidence of these groups of people. It was imperative that this project was not seen as yet another 'academic exercise' which would further entrench peoples' (to date justified) mistrust and confusion.

Individuals and group interviews with the five different community groups interviewed for the project were carried out using an interview schedule, and all interviews were recorded on tape and transcribed. The project worker herself was Black and bilingual. The community groups selected for the research were Pakistani, Bangladeshi, Afro-Caribbean, Chinese and Somali.

Sample findings

There was a consensus of opinion amongst all those interviewed that very little effective (if any) consultation had taken place between AE organisations and the community. This area of concern was also highlighted in the HMI report *Aspects of Adult Education in Sheffield* (1986). There is, too, a grave lack of knowledge of existing provision which is not confined to non-users of AE but, as the student interviews revealed, applies in the case of current users as well. The HMI report comments:

> 'The absence of any significant student consultative machinery was disappointing.'

Interviews with community groups elicited the following comments concerning community consultation:

> 'No they don't, they didn't. Nobody came from the Education Department to ask what our needs are ...'
>
> (A female Somali community representative)

> 'I'm not sure; I think attempts were made about three years ago when, I think it was ... I can't remember the name of the guy ... I think it was done on a very small scale. I don't think it got through to many.'
>
> (Afro-Caribbean)

> 'From what I hear there's very little consultation. I've never heard anybody say that they've been asked about this or that or the other.'
>
> (White worker with Asian community)

> 'Adult education has never had any consultation with the different community organisations.'
>
> (Pakistani community)

> 'In a word, no. From what I've heard I don't think there has been any consultation with the Chinese community.'
>
> (White worker (not in AE) with Chinese).

'No, never. The white groups decide what classes to put and they only think about their own point of view — they don't get in touch with the Bangladeshi community; they might get in touch with the Pakistani community. They don't get a full picture and don't find out what the actual community needs are'.

(Bangladeshi past-user)

Conclusions

It is glaringly obvious from the comments that much work is needed in order to develop effective consultative methods with the different Black communities. The interviews made clear that isolated attempts have been made to consult 'the community'. However, some of the attempts have been on the level of consulting individuals from community groups. Where this has been taken to warrant the stamp 'This community has now been consulted', it is clearly absurd. Consultation requires reaching out to as many people as possible — not only tapping existing organisations.

It is plain to see that meetings called for consultation should be conducted by Black bilingual people. A meeting to 'consult' Asian women needs to take place somewhere they know men will not intrude and in a situation where they know that there will be someone who speaks their mother tongue. Similarly, a meeting with Somalis requires a mother tongue speaker present, and so on.

The interviews provided a variety of reasons as to why any attempts to consult have been unsuccessful. Two of the predominant reasons were:

'The forum they've been asked to enter into has been totally inappropriate. There's been occasions where men from the Asian community have got into the meeting and I've had to take a woman home ...'

'They're overpowered by the process and there's certainly a language barrier because the language used is all jargonese and very quick, fast moving and brisk and businesslike and ... I haven't actually been involved in very many ... when it actually does happen I believe that it's tokenistic and inappropriate and I'd call it racist actually.'

There is always a danger when talking about community groups to see them as a homogeneous group of people. Obviously this is not the case. As a result there is a problem in attempting to identify needs as they vary from individual to individual within each group; some peoples' needs will contradict other peoples' within each group. There are, however, always some needs on which there is consensus, especially when referring to basic unmet requirements; the interviews have highlighted only a few. In order to do any justice to 'needs identification', outreach worker posts will have to be created. Currently there is

one outreach worker who has responsibility for work with Asian women. Although outreach work is theoretically built into the work of Black AE tutors, very little is done.

A Pakistani male currently carrying out voluntary work within the community commented, when referring to Black tutors generally:

> 'They have no outreach work at all. They are just working inside the buildings, so the community doesn't know a lot more of what's going on in adult education.'

Another interviewee commented:

> 'Adult education, for financial reasons, sees its success in terms of classes; so the outreach workers have felt under pressure to get people into classes rather than to explore the idea of outreach work.'

The interviews revealed that all the community groups feel that outreach workers are crucial to attracting more people into AE. Another member of the Pakistani community commented:

> '... the workers who are working in adult education ... that is their job — to do something and make them aware of the system ... go to the people and tell them who you are. This is what might be very helpful.'

Two years ago, in another area of Sheffield, a post was created for an outreach worker with the Afro-Caribbean community. A current Afro-Caribbean worker's perception of what actually resulted from the post is:

> 'She went out into the community and identified some needs of the Black community and came back with the information. What she had to do was look at how she wanted to set up the classes to better meet the needs of the community; but when she did, there was a lot of fuss about how it's not the norm and there have to be 'x' number of students to arrange a class and a tutor for that class and things like that. We were saying, because it's fairly new, the Afro-Caribbean picking that up, that if there's three people there it warrants having somebody there for these three people, but they didn't see it like that ... also how she ran the classes created difficulty because it wasn't the norm — how she actually taught people. A genuine attempt to reach out to the different communities must mean an acceptance that alteration will have to occur and a greater flexibility of approach will have to be adopted.'

An experience like the above must be avoided as the message that is transmitted is that 'lip-service' is being paid to serving the Black communities. As the introduction to the chapter points out, this leads to a lack of confidence in the service. As one individual from the Somali community pointed out:

> 'We need everything. We need first of all to see that someone really do care about us, who wants to listen to what we need; that is most important ... be really willing to do something, that is more important. Because at the moment we don't feel we've got that.'

A Somali community representative pointed out that (among other things) what is required is use of community grapevines and outreach and oral publicity in the right language:

> 'Somebody who is responsible for the community. They come out with this (information) and say this is out, who would be interested?'

All interviewed also felt that one of the reasons why provision wasn't taken up was because it did not reflect their needs. One of the Black users commented:

> 'It's because it's not what they want ... I think that they probably can't relate to it. I think that the advertising is largely limited to transmitting and packaging what it is. I think some people would enjoy being shown around ... Offering people something that doesn't seem to relate to anything is not appropriate ... perhaps if there was something a little more relevant to the economic situation, some way out that was maybe hard work but could offer something ... I think that perhaps would get access going. I think as well that they need to introduce, you have to create hunger, you have to create want, you have to create the images of what these things can achieve for us.'

Other comments included:

> 'Written publicity and also mouth-to-mouth publicity too is important because some continue to always believe word of mouth. Imam says something is going on ... the religious people say that's good then I'm going there. It has to be word of mouth and it has to be seen as important.'

There was a general feeling that outreach workers should explain to individuals what benefits might be accrued from the class, and that the possibility of 'access' to further education should be publicised.

What has been described above are the areas on which there was a consensus of opinion. The data was gathered from tutors, students, members of community, voluntary organisations, local residents and others.

Pakistani community

Some comments made by members of the Pakistani community — users, students, members of community organisations — were:

> 'The centre shuts at 4 o'clock and then is the time when the community would like to use the centre as restuarant workers are restricted as to when they can take up classes. 3 to 5 is the best time.'
>
> 'The Management Committee is not representative of the local community and needs more Black representation.'
>
> 'I had a problem very early on in 1977/78. It took me quite a while — 15 months — to sit on Management Committee itself because the people were not interested about any Asian or Black people. So it took me 15 months to be part of it ... if that's not racism ...'

Some reasons given for lack of knowledge and take up were:

> 'There's a lack of knowledge as to what adult education is and misconceptions about for whom it is.'
>
> 'It is not put across as being something which is useful and can lead to other "things" like qualifications and employment.'
>
> '... too far, too dark and has no provision for Black people.'

People felt that there was a strong tendency to immediately categorise Asians, generally, as ESL or Sewing. This meant that tutors often filtered Asian students into these classes rather than encourage participation in other 'mainstream' classes.

Some needs identified for appropriate provision for the community were:

— home-based tutors for women, who teach, among other things, 'life-skills';

— history classes looking at the history of Pakistan;

— Urdu classes for men and women;

— classes on skills for setting up self-help groups;

— classes to enable parents to play a greater part in their children's education — 'Understanding Your Child's School' — information about governing bodies, language of school;

— confidence-building classes;

— advice, information (social security), system access skills;

— flexistudy based at a local centre.

Bangladeshi community

Some comments made by members of the Bangladeshi community were:

> 'They feel there isn't any provision anyway. They feel that it's geared towards Pakistanis ... a lot of Bangladeshi women are in more difficult situations, tend to be poorer; more of them have got unemployed husbands or where they are employed they've got restaurant jobs so the husbands are getting up to go to work at 3 o'clock ... I think that's part of the reason — very practical reasons.'

> 'The thing is they're staying inside because they don't know what's going on. The English seem to think that Asian people means all Urdu speakers.'

> 'You see there are sewing classes for Asian women but there's a problem because there's nobody Bengali to represent her (the mother). If she's got any problems interpreting things or understanding things she has no one to explain it to her. They only understand the Pakistani side and Asian sewing class is for Pakistani women.'

> 'She feels very strongly about having a Bengali teacher. She felt very isolated and went once to the centre, and never went again.'

> 'She feels very bored. She feels bad when she can't understand the television and the children are laughing at something and she can't share in it. When she watches the news she asks them to explain it, and they start shouting at her. She'd like to be able to help her children with their work and if we were in Bangladesh she would be able to teach them things — she can't understand the letters from schools.'

Some needs identified for appropriate provision for the community were:

- Bengali-speaking female tutor of sewing;
- Bengali-speaking outreach worker;
- translation of leaflets into Bengali; information in the centre to be displayed in Bengali;
- ESL classes with Bengali support;
- Bengali mother tongue classes;
- classes on the history of Bangladesh;
- timing of classes to take into consideration the working patterns of those involved in restaurant work;
- establishing effective links for consultation with the Bangladeshi community;
- classes which will enable parents to play an active role in the schooling of their children;
- general confidence building;
- organised outings to familiarise women with Sheffield and its resources.

Afro-Caribbean community

Some comments made by members of the Afro-Caribbean community were:

> 'Most people don't know that they (AE provision) exist.'
>
> 'I don't think they get through to many people at all.'
>
> 'When they do make publicity, it looks as if it's for specific groups.'
>
> 'For a start, if you take into consideration that some of the people they are trying to reach can't read ...'
>
> 'People on the outside are looking for jobs; they're wondering what's going to happen tomorrow, how they're going to buy shoes for the kids. In that kind of circumstance if you waft some piece of paper offering a woodwork course under their nose it won't really seem that relevant to anything.'

'Also perhaps somebody from the centre visiting people at their homes ... If a Black worker goes out it'll make all the difference.'

'One day I started an adventure for myself trying to find out what was happening at this place — Mount Pleasant — and when I went in I found it was completely different from what I thought.'

'Most Afro-Caribbean people find it difficult to actually fit in because I don't think that the atmosphere that is created is any different from the ... bad experience in the learning situation in schools and places like that. They don't think it's any different, they've still got the racism and all that, they've still got a negative attitude towards Black people and there is nothing actually to combat it.'

'I felt I had to prove myself as one of the teachers. Once or twice I was challenged by some people who were coming to other classes, wanting to know what I was doing there.'

'I mean sometimes people tell a racist joke and say "I don't mean you". I just say, "What do you mean, you don't mean me?" ... things like that get to me ... because they're saying it and they say you're not included, you're alright, and it straightaway tells me what they think of Black people.'

'It's the attitudes of people and coldness when you walk in. You feel you shouldn't be there.'

Some needs identified for appropriate provision for the community were:

— some sort of classes that actually look at racism and its effect on people;

— more people working out in the community doing more home tuition instead of getting people to come into the centre ... that's phase 1;

— the curriculum reflecting that it is catering for Black people;

— method of recruiting people for AE classes;

— reflecting wanting more Black people in by having more Black staff;

— recognising patois and creole;

— encouraging people to develop skills or recognising skills they've already got;

— course on Black Art;

— course on video and film making as there's a gap in the market for films and videos being made by Black people;

— confidence-building courses for men and women:

'They feel they haven't got the brains — lack of will and confidence. They've lost confidence in themselves and it's a thing that takes a long time to overcome, especially living in this society.'

— advice on setting up a business, general rights;

— a linked skills approach to literacy and numeracy, e.g. teaching measuring, weighing through cookery, etc.;

— Afro-Caribbean cookery class.

Chinese community

'The Chinese have hitherto figured very little in discussion concerning race relations and ethnic minorities in Britain... They have rarely made complaints about any aspect of their lives in Britain and have made few calls on social services or other forms of assistance, so it has been assumed that they have few problems. However, the lack of official or public perception of any problem does not mean no problems exist, and it's become apparent that the Chinese, who constitute Britain's third largest ethnic minority ..., in fact has serious difficulties which for a variety of reasons had gone unnoticed. Our inquiry has abundantly demonstrated the existence of these difficulties and the need for measures to deal with them.' (House of Commons, Second report from the Home Affairs Committee, Session 1984-85, *Chinese Community in Britain.*)

Some comments made by members of the Chinese community were:

'The Chinese Sheffield and District Association have initiated Chinese mother tongue classes for children and adults which are held on school premises every Sunday. This is being done without LEA assistance.'

'I think there are quite a lot of people within the Chinese community who definitely would like to improve their English skills.'

'I don't think much effort at all has gone into getting publicity to the Chinese community.'

'... there are definite perceptions about adult education centres if people know they exist at all. ESL classes are seen to be for Pakistani people ... and maybe not suitable for Chinese.'

'The various ways of learning language is really quite important because a lot of Chinese here are literate in their own language and they see learning language as being very much a part of that process of getting basic literacy. Therefore the approach that a lot of ESL classes have, which is on oral skills, is not actually appropriate for Chinese.'

'They are very isolated in their existence because of the nature of their work. They're scattered around all over the city; it's not easy to meet neighbours on a day-to-day basis.'

'This is the area where most of the Chinese are based and they don't have the lettering in Chinese outside that centre.'

Some needs identified for appropriate provision for the community were:

— a Chinese bilingual outreach worker who speaks Cantonese;

— bilingual (Cantonese and Vietnamese) ESL tutors;

— tutors to undergo 'language awareness' training to sensitise them to the particular difficulties faced by the Chinese in pronunciation, naming systems, and so on;

— a course on 'setting up a business';

— a course on interview techniques and skills to enable them to get into college — this would incorporate confidence building and assertiveness training;

— discussion groups on topics such as health, employment and community care;

— rights and advice classes;

— Chinese mother tongue classes;

— publicity leaflets to be translated and displayed in Chinese grocery shops, take-aways and restaurants; leaflets to be left at these places for distribution.

Somali community

A local report states:

> 'The community is one of the longest established ethnic minority groups in Sheffield, having had a presence here for over 50 years. During this time it has contributed to all aspects of Sheffield life, especially to that of its steel industries, in wartime and peacetime. Until now the community has been self-supporting because there's been work. However, in the present economic recession, it has been hit particularly hard and many of its families are in crisis. (The community receives no aid at all from Section 11 funding as Somalia does not fall into the "New Commonwealth".)'

Some comments made by members of the Somali community were:

> 'We haven't achieved very much ... we tried to, we wrote petitions, we have meetings, we wrote to a different body of the Council, but hardly anything has happened. I think when you have a lack of understanding of the system and you are an ethnic minority your chance is very slim of anyone listening to you.'

> 'Most of the men worked in the steelworks and they came from home and they came to England and they were labourers in the steelworks and the language they learn was physical language. They know how to work in the steel which was physical ... English language they hardly know how to communicate and how to know what is available.'

> 'Some of them they don't know how to get their rights and to them it's a big barrier. These places (AE centres) some of them they hardly know ... if the adult education came out and say we've got to help these people then later they can help themselves.'

> 'We are going to try to get a volunteer to teach our people because the education system is not helping our people. There is no point to sit down and not help ourselves. Whatever we can do, we will try and teach English and maths and sewing and social needs which is most important because most of our people are unemployed ...'

> 'The books wasn't written for the Black people, they were English people. Learning is for two ways — if you see a book and it's aimed at you. If you

see a book of Somali, in English, you will take more interest; it does help ... I think the education system should re-do their homework again.'

'I think the way they look at you is more ... each one looks at you then you feel embarrassed and you think "Oh Lord, maybe I've done something wrong or something". It discourages you and worries you, the look on their faces.'

'She gave us "Humpty Dumpty sat on a wall", and all of them knew this because it was a nursery rhyme. So when they write it on a computer, I didn't know ... and I left the class because it was embarassing; I didn't know what to do.'

'They underestimate a Black person's intelligence.'

Some needs identified for appropriate provision for the community were:

— appointment of a Somalian outreach worker;

— a course on fundamental teaching skills and methods for those who wish to teach ESL and mother tongue, numeracy, etc;

— a 'life skills' course linked with ESL;

— anti-racist multicultural computer classes geared towards ESL speakers;

— translated publicity, leaflets and word-of-mouth publicity through radio, etc.;

— male and female home tutors who speak Somali;

— rights and advice session;

— sewing and craft workshops with a Somali speaker;

— a meeting place for:

  - women,
  - elderly,

  and a drop-in centre for the unemployed.

Summary of recommendations

— There is a need for door-to-door delivery of leaflets, especially translated into Urdu, Bengali and Chinese; more leaflets could be sent through school children.

— Leaflets need to be clearly printed and designed to get the right images across — to have positive images of Black people, women and men, in illustrations and a clear indication that mainstream classes are open to them. Leaflets and the divisional brochure should be translated into Chinese, Somali, Urdu/Punjabi and Bengali.

— A statement should be included to indicate that AE is for all groups of people in all centres. It should simply and concisely explain who it is for, where and when it is organised and whether it has to be paid for. It should actively counter any myths that exist about certain centres catering only for particular groups of people and should make it clear that there are opportunities for those who want to gain qualifications as well as for those who don't.

— Educational jargon like crèche, numeracy, literacy, 'day-check', sessions and familiarisation should be avoided. Practical details should be set out more clearly, avoiding too much coding and complicated chart representations of courses.

— Information about ESL classes needs to be more precise, i.e. classes should be advertised as catering for complete beginners, for Stage 2 or for advanced ESL.

— More and better publicised Open Days and activities which will encourage people to come into the centre are needed.

— There should be more extensive publicity in local shops — posters in grocery shops, take-aways, restaurants, video shops and places where Black people go. These should be in community languages.

— Tutors should devote some time, either at the beginning or end of sessions, to imparting general information about other types of classes taking place at the centre. Students should be given a 'guided tour' around the centre (where applicable) and introduced to reception staff, coffee bar staff, etc. for some idea of what else happens in the centre. Information on the funding of AE and the management committee should be given. Students should then be invited to ask questions.

— Anti-racist training is needed for all staff, teaching and non-teaching, in order to bring to the surface and overcome any hidden assumptions and expectations, and to enable effective cross-cultural guidance and counselling. As the issues of gender and class also affect the nature of advice given, these should be integral to such training.

— Courses and sessions which focus on Black people in terms of history, culture and language are needed.

— A newsletter or magazine should be produced, with case histories of Black students and White working class students who have moved on from AE, illustrating access to HE and FE colleges.

— More outreach and personal contact with the different groups is required. This would involve appointment of Bengali, Afro-Caribbean, Chinese and Somali outreach workers.

— Outreach work within the tutors' job description should be given a much higher profile and time should be set aside specifically for development. This time needs to be flexible and negotiable.

— Joint strategies might involve members of the Publicity Working Party, together with outreach workers, holding meetings to disseminate information about AE and dispel any misconceptions.

— There is a need to develop effective consultative networks within the local communities.

— Effective links should be developed with other agencies such as Social Services, Youth Service, Careers Service and Black and local community organisations such as Black Parents' Action Group, Residents' Association, Lai Yin Association, etc.

4. CURRICULUM ANALYSIS

Method and aim

This chapter contains the results of the main part of the project's task — to examine selected examples of the AE curriculum on offer in the division and to draw on the perceptions of Black students taking the courses chosen. Some questions were general, but more were specific to the courses concerned. Discussion often ranged much wider than listed on the interview schedule. The interview schedules used can be found in the appendices of the full report. The data for curriculum analysis and student perceptions was derived from four sources:

— staff interviews;

— critical review of teaching materials;

— observation of classes;

— student interviews.

The curriculum areas chosen were:

— Health Education;

— Creative Writing and 16+ English;

— ESL/Linked Skills;

— New Technology;

— Heavy Arts and Craft.

In order to create a mechanism for review, a curriculum group was set up. Its aims and objectives were:

— to explain the project;

— to engage tutors in discussion of ways in which the project's aims could be facilitated in the division;

— to negotiate opportunities for student interviews and observation of classes;

— to negotiate interviews with staff;

— to bring together teaching materials for critical review.

Interviews with staff and students were tape recorded and transcribed. The full report contains substantial extracts from interviews.

The specific objectives of asking for students' perceptions of the curriculum were to discover:

— whether any consultation had ever taken place previously regarding AE provision;

— students' own evaluation of the classes with regard to course content, environment, style, role of tutor, timing of classes, perception of enrolment, preference for single sex or mixed classes;

— whether or not there exists a gap between policy and practice with regard to anti-racist and multicultural strategies;

— whether anti-racism and anti-sexism had been raised as classroom issues;

— whether Black students have experienced any form of racism in the institution;

— whether students had knowledge of other AE classes;

— whether students would wish to continue when their present class came to an end;

— whether students would be willing to transmit some of their skills to others;

— how students felt about having Black or White tutors.

Curriculum review group

The curriculum review group was made up of all the full-time tutors representing the five curriculum areas identified for analysis, and the Divisional Principal. Staff initially expressed some apprehension and caution about the project. It was crucial at this stage to alleviate fears and to correct the notion that the project worker was there to 'inspect' them. At subsequent meetings the group suggested amendments to the draft interview schedule for students and discussed ways of

introducing the project worker to students and the practicalities of conducting interviews.

There was very little written teaching material in most classes. The gap between any written material and classroom practice became increasingly evident in the course of the visits. In many cases the material seemed to have been produced for the sake of documentation and bore little resemblance to classroom practice. There were practically no materials which offered opportunities for introducing anti-racist strategies.

Student interviews

In all cases students were withdrawn from classes to be interviewed. In most cases students were not overly suspicious of the project worker's intentions. The project worker had already been 'seen' by some of the students during enrolment and around the buildings since Easter. The 'exposure' and increased familiarity was intended to increase the likelihood of 'honest' responses.

It was felt by the curriculum group that the words 'racism' and 'anti-racism' were best omitted in explaining the purpose of the research for the following reasons:

— The terms don't mean the same to all and many (including staff) are unclear as to what is meant.

— Students might be more likely to respond less honestly to certain questions.

— 'Anti-racism' is often misconstrued as being to do with 'making things better for the Blacks to the detriment of the Whites'.

It was felt the aim of the project should be described as 'making sure adult education is catering for all people'. The unease surrounding the use of the terms racism or anti-racism was clearly based on tutors' perceptions of their students. Asian tutors in the group (of which there were three) pointed out that the terms racism and anti-racism could be meaningless to Asians (and to other Black people) because their first language is not English and the terms are loaded with complex political overtones which are not accessible to people who have had no exposure to that way of thinking. They experience it at the 'gut' day-to-day level, but they may not have intellectualised it. A term exists in Urdu but is so obscure that many Asian students are unlikely to have come across it. These initial concerns based on the perceptions of the tutors were borne out by the student interviews.

It was felt that it was imperative to recognise that no teaching situation is perfect. There are always areas which warrant criticism. This is particularly true where anti-racism or anti-sexism provide the focus for comment on classroom practice and curriculum analysis. No one can claim that anti-racist curriculum development has gone beyond the embryonic stage. Thus any classroom situation is bound to have areas for concern and change.

The fact that, in many cases, ethnocentric material is used is a direct reflection of constricted financial resources, both in terms of staff development and the cost of purchasing new materials. This serves to encourage tutors to 'hang on' to any existing materials despite flaws (which may not be obvious to all). Before staff can begin to recognise ethnocentric materials they need to be able to recognise racism in a variety of forms. Since awareness raising is a dynamic process, so is the process of materials review. To do this effectively staff development is needed, with the staff development team including Black staff.

Student perceptions overview

Of a total of 87 students (in all the curriculum areas), 38 were interviewed. Twenty-five of these interviews were tape-recorded and transcribed. All those interviewed had never before been asked about their opinions or feelings about AE nor approached to actively participate in decision making regarding the running of the centre.

Of 55 students of so-called 'mainstream' provision, only four were Black — one Asian from India whose first language was English and three Afro-Caribbeans, two of whom were attending three different classes all taught by the same person. The other 32 Black students were concentrated in the ESL Linked Skills classes, Computer Club for Asian girls, Support Group for Asian mothers of hearing-impaired children and Sewing Workshop for Asian women — all Pakistani.

There is a marked lack of Black student uptake in areas other than those linked with ESL or orientated specifically towards Asian women. Of a total of 87 students, only one Asian male was in evidence.

The overwhelming majority of students in the 'mainstream' classes had not seen any publicity until the AE caravan appeared on the moor in town, unless self-motivated efforts had been made to inquire and look around. Very few had seen leaflets. Almost all the Black students had heard about AE classes from friends. It would appear that the reliance upon 'word of mouth' had led to a transmission of very limited knowledge of AE and of concentration of Black (in this case mainly Pakistani) women into a few 'marginal' areas of the curriculum.

The majority of Whites and the two Afro-Caribbean and one Indian interviewed expressed a preference for mixed classes. However, all the Pakistani women expressed a wish for separate classes.

None had ever been consulted about their views on AE provision and the issue of racism had been raised only by two Black tutors; sexism had not been discussed at all. There was very little knowledge among students about what happened in the building other than the class they themselves attended.

All thought the tutor's role a wider one than just imparting facts. They saw the tutor as someone from whom they could seek general advice beyond the confines of the subject area. Most White students said that it wouldn't matter if they had a Black or White tutor. Indeed some White students expressed very positive feelings about being taught by a Black tutor. Black students expressed a strong preference for Black tutors because of the 'hidden curriculum' benefits that they bring to a teaching situation. In the case of second language speakers, bilingual tutors were seen to be of enormous value. Most thought that the topics of anti-racism and anti-sexism ought to be raised and discussed by tutors.

Curriculum analysis

New technology

Computer club

Computer club meetings took place in the evening because the Asian tutor felt it could be successful at that time. The general feeling of other tutors was that it would be futile to target classes towards Asian women in the evening, based on stereotyped views of Asian women 'never venturing out at night'. The tutor felt that if the class was open to young girls their mothers were likely to at least come up to the computing room to see what was going on. The previous term the class had been successful in attracting Asian women, but all were young. The mothers of these girls were already attending other ESL and sewing classes and therefore had already built up some trust in the 'system'. New clientele was not forthcoming.

None of the programmes had been catalogued; neither was there a summary of programme contents nor a list of aims and objectives. A 'new' tutor coming into the class would have no idea of what the discs contained. All the discs seen were ethnocentric in content and none, except for one or two programmes produced by an ESL tutor (however these contained words like 'artisan', 'pedlar', 'sabbath'), were really suitable for an ESL class. The programmes used White

names and White middle-class experiences as well as White ethnocentric history (e.g. a passage about Romans coming to Britain).

The environment of the computer room itself did not in any way acknowledge the existence of Black people. The posters heralded the achievements of White men — in one there was not a single Black face in a sea of faces. Another, entitled 'What Language', was similar. All the information was in English, including fire regulations and information about other classes.

Computer class for women

The computer class was a joint AE/school initiative. The school, which had high numbers of Black pupils, wanted to attract community involvement and recognised the advantages of young children seeing parents in school. Letters were sent out in Urdu, Bengali and English via the children. This resulted in a Pakistani woman who was already taking up provision at Mount Pleasant ESL classes coming forward.

The one Pakistani student mentioned that she thought there was a great deal of 'ignorance and misconception' surrounding the use of computers. She was referring specifically to Asian women.

More work is obviously needed to promote this computer class. Software was ethnocentric and often inappropriate. There was no catalogue to indicate contents of discs. The environment did not acknowledge the existence of Black people.

ESL Linked Skills

Classes visited included the ESL Linked Skills Sewing Workshop for Asian women and the ESL Computer Familiarisation Workshop, the Practical Skills class and the ESL Sewing Class.

Sewing Workshop

The general sewing class taught by a White tutor had eight students (women) of whom two were Afro-Caribbean and the rest White. The class took place in the morning. One Afro-Caribbean student had been attending for four years and now came primarily to use the sewing machine.

It was strikingly obvious that the two Afro-Caribbean women were 'apart' from the rest of the group, on a bench at the furthest quietest corner of the room. In contrast, there was a hub of activity and interchange between the other students. Both women spoke a dialect with which the tutor did not feel confident and knew little about. The room is used for the Asian Women's Sewing Workshop and had two posters showing Asian dress. No attempts had been made to portray

the patterns, fabrics, prints or styles of dress of other groups of people. The physical environment within the classroom in itself served to alienate those women. When asked whether they'd experienced any racism within the centre, one smiled and said 'It's the way they look at you, but I mind my own business!'

ESL Linked Skills Sewing

The Asian Women's linked skills sewing workshop was a generally well-integrated group. The workshop is taught by an Asian and a White tutor. The method of assessment used in both classes was oral, which has implications for tutors. The bilingual teacher in this situation must ensure that the information received in the mother tongue is translated for the other tutor. In the case of Afro-Caribbean students who spoke in dialect, it could mean that both tutors might either misunderstand or not understand at all.

The environment (illustrations on the walls) recognised and validated the presence of Asian women and Whites, but did not acknowledge the existence of other minority ethnic groups.

There was little evidence of a structured linked skills approach. There were no attempts to go over the basic vocabulary associated with pre-sewing skills, for example words in Urdu/Punjabi for length, width, measurement and so on which could be displayed on the board. The Asian tutor tended to speak to students in their mother tongue, with the occasional translation of some words into English for the younger students.

The ESL linked skills approach has enormous potential for success when there is a bilingual tutor. In fact, although the women wanted to learn English and one woman was already attending an ESL class, there was little attempt to teach sewing through English in any structured manner. Furthermore, there had been no liaison between the class tutor of the student learning ESL and the Linked Skills Sewing Workshop.

There were a few textbooks in evidence which gave patterns for sewing. These were written in Urdu, but all the illustrations were of White children and the patterns and explanations were for dresses. No patterns for *shalwar kameez* were included. These provided good examples of the 'multicultural' attempt without the anti-racist perspective. There were no bilingual handouts. Although there was a sheet which outlined 'examples of actual English language' there was no evidence of its use.

Student perceptions

All the students spoken to came largely to learn a new skill and to save money by

making their own clothes. Asian women, particularly, saw being able to sew as an absolute necessity, as *shalwar kameez* are not available in shops and are expensive to get tailored. Students, on the whole, felt positive about the classes and said they offered them an opportunity to meet others and socialise. This seemed in itself to provide a motivation for attending. All expressed the desire to learn to speak English but also felt that White monolingual tutors should learn Urdu.

The women did not find enroling problematic as the tutor was a bilingual Asian woman. Students saw the White teacher as being of real value in the classroom as well, although they expressed the wish that she learn Urdu. Three of the students (who had been coming some time) had seen publicity in Urdu and English whereas the others had been told by friends.

'Word of mouth' was overall the most predominant reply when asked how students had heard about the class.

All expressed a definite need for single sex classes. When asked if some women are reluctant to come because they expect to find men in the classes, one replied, 'Yes I think it is, but I've told them that no man goes upstairs where we have our sewing classes.'

Practical skills

The class was taken by an Asian woman tutor in the Adult Literacy room. There was one Chinese student present who wanted to combine learning English with learning to type.

The room itself had no acknowledgement of the existence of Black people. The walls displayed information in English and all the posters showed only White faces.

The contents of the 'Literacy cupboard' for students consisted of a vast array of ethnocentric, outdated 1950s editions of readers and other texts. Exercises assumed a comfortable familiarity with 'White English culture', geography and so on. *English for Health and Community Studies* did have a Chinese face on the front cover and some pictures of Black people, but no anti-racist perspective. The chapter on food was eurocentric and contained poems like 'Gabon pygmies celebrate pleasure of eating fish' from *Primitive Song* by C M Bower. Readers included Ladybird books and *Dramatising a Story* which talked about King Arthur and the rabbit boy. Almost all were children's readers. Others, such as *I Started Work*, were designed for literacy students.

Health Education

The health education classes observed included ante-natal, ESL, cookery/nutrition, and the support group for Asian mothers of hearing-impaired children.

ESL Ante-natal class

The class serves two purposes. First, it aims to give 'survival' English to ante-natal students who have little or none, and thereby facilitate their attendance at the ante-natal clinic and subsequent birth. Second, it serves to give information, support and advice to these women and to other more advanced bilingual speakers expecting their first baby, in explaining hospital procedures — tests, examinations and the actual birth process.

The ante-natal class had been taken by the same White tutor for five years, and over the past two years by a Black bilingual tutor. The class took place in a local hospital and the students were collected from their homes in a minibus. The driver was a Bangladeshi woman who also acted as a bilingual support.

On the first visit there were three women — one Moroccan and two Bangladeshi. On the second visit there were six women — two Bangladeshi, two Pakistani, one Algerian and one Syrian — at different levels of English acquisition.

The room itself was spacious and well equipped. However, the information and posters displayed were all in English and all the pictures, except two, were of Whites.

The midwife (in uniform) was always present and joined in the group. This was particularly good as it served to break down the barrier that the uniform itself can create, enabled the midwife to have a better understanding of the women and their anxieties, and served as in-service training for the midwife to better 'serve' Black bilingual women.

The relationship between the tutors, midwife and students was good. The crèche worker/driver looked after the children in a corner of the room, which satisfied the wishes of the parents although there were occasional interruptions. The crèche worker was frequently called upon for translation and explanation.

The White tutor led the group with the Black tutor assisting in acting out roles or translating. This meant that the Asian tutor adopted a secondary, more peripheral role. This arrangement provided an example of a 'team-teaching' situation where one person is actually perceived as being of 'greater importance' or value than the other, and as taking more responsibility. There was little actual 'team-teaching'; the Black tutor was acting more as a secondary assistant. This

served indirectly to undermine the Black tutor in the eyes of the students and midwife and fueled the idea that the Black tutor had less status and knowledge. The ultimate result is a perpetuation of the subordinate status of Black teachers. By association, this process of depreciation extends itself to undervaluing the skills of bilingualism and biculturalism and the hidden curricular benefits that a Black tutor can bring to any teaching situation.

The materials used were pictorial illustrations of verbs/actions/ailments which the student had to identify in a simple question/answer situation. At times the pictorial representations were ambiguous and led to confusion. For example, the convention used in sketches to denote throbbing or swelling can only be understood by those who have had previous experience of the 'signs' and of interpreting them. Where people had no previous schooling or were not acquainted with looking at and interpreting drawings, ambiguity and confusion arose in the teaching situation.

Most students had heard about the classes through 'word of mouth'. The women enjoyed the class but some did not always understand what was going on. The class was obviously not reaching all women in need. More outreach work and home-based teaching would assist recruitment.

Cookery class

This took place in a junior school and was team-taught by an Asian and a White tutor. The environment was comfortable.

However, because the class took place in a corridor classroom, there was a constant trail of people passing through and other distractions. The children's breaktime coincided with the class, which meant that there was a high level of background noise and interference. Displays of children's work and posters recognised and positively validated the fact that Britain is multicultural. There was no evidence, however, of any anti-racist, bilingual health charts or language of cookery charts with illustrations. In fact, there was nothing in the environment to suggest that there was an ESL Health Education cookery class taking place.

Four of the students — Chinese, Indian, Syrian and Egyptian — had already been attending ESL classes. Students had been unsure whether the class was taking place as there had been some confusion in the information given. The 'word' had got around by the third week.

Students had expressed a wish to learn how to bake. The recipe and method was demonstrated by the White tutor with the Black tutor acting as 'general'

assistant. The dangers of this unequal team-teaching situation have already been outlined in the previous class description.

There was no attempt to ascertain whether students were familiar with the English names for cooking implements; several made enquiries themselves. There were no assessment attempts made, possibly because the White tutor already knew some of the students. The ESL element seemed incidental and there was a dominance of tutor talk. The 'health' value of the ingredients was emphasised and 'wholefood' products used. There was little attempt to establish cross-cultural links between ingredients and their different uses in different countries.

Recipes were translated into Urdu from time to time, but not always. Students took away handout recipes, but there was no information about health education aspects. Students did have the opportunity, from time to time, to participate in the making of the recipe and to demonstrate recipes from their countries. They enlisted the help of the tutor in writing up the recipe. This gave them a wide variety of interesting recipes to try and enable them to actively participate and assume the tutor's role while the tutors became students. This practice of sharing skills served to create a more 'equal' interactive situation within the class, as students see each other as having different skills to offer. It also served, through the recognition of their particular skills, to enhance their views of themselves. The tutor validated these skills and gave them status by creating a context in which they could be communicated. Anti-racist practice in this case went beyond the confines of teaching materials, environment, etc. to include recognition of the wealth of resources offered by individuals in a room and to draw out and validate these skills in an effective way.

Support group for Asian mothers of hearing-impaired children

The Support Group was set up to open channels of communication for making knowledge on health and available support accessible and providing an outlet for anxieties and frustration.

The class took place in the community room of a nursery/middle school with a high number of Asian pupils. All eight women present had young children with them. The absence of a crèche meant there were constant interruptions and distractions and the women were not free to talk to one another. There was no evidence of toys in the room although tutors have access to pre-school toys from the school nursery.

The women seemed comfortable and at ease and had informal discussions on a wide variety of topics. The group was to have a more 'formal' discussion session

the following fortnight, with information on how to use hearing aids. From the informal talks it was evident that the women felt very positively about the group.

Creative Writing and English

Introduction

Three classes were visited:

— a beginners' creative writing class at an AE centre (afternoon);

— an advanced creative writing class (evening) at a school;

— a 16+ evening class also based in a school.

The 16+ and one creative writing class were taught by a White female tutor. The other class was taught by a White male tutor.

Creative Writing

The room itself did not acknowledge the existence of Black people. There were 10 students — five male and five female. These included one Black male, one Asian, one Afro-Caribbean and an Afro-Caribbean female. There was a wealth of teaching materials to look through. However, much of this, used largely for stimulus, was ethnocentric. Most of it was by White male writers. Some looked at the experiences of Black people but was not used in the classes seen.

The class had been having discussions around the question 'Why creative writing?'. The tutor used stimulus material such as *First Born* by Laurie Lee and the poem 'Making a door' to activate the discussion. The class was given the task of writing down the voices in their heads, heard when they were about to embark on a piece of writing. This helped students realise that others in the group share similar 'conflicting voices' and obstacles when it came to undertaking a piece of writing. A class like this, because of the flexibility it affords and the freedom from syllabus constraints, offers a good opportunity for anti-racist, anti-sexist work and for students — Black and White — to share experiences in writing. There are possibilities (students willing) for anti-sexist, anti-racist material written in these sessions to be made into booklets and passed on for use in other AE classes, such as the adult literacy class. The class carries on for a year.

The two students interviewed were satisfied with the class and were using it as a stepping stone to further education. Some reservations were expressed on the organisation and ethos of the content.

Advanced Creative Writing Evening Class

The evening creative writing class was located in a middle school. The students had to use desks and chairs which were obviously intended for young children. The room's theme for display was 'Autumn in England' and a chart entitled 'Health Food' contained pictures of English foods alone. While AE remains at the mercy of schools providing accommodation for classes, the problems of control over class environment will remain. The classroom was totally enthnocentric.

The tutor was a White male who taught English at an FE college. There were 14 students — five men and nine women — of whom one was Asian and one Afro-Caribbean. Three sessions were observed.

One session was spent looking at an extract from a novel which described childhood memories. The extract was by a White male writer and involved comparisons with William Blake. In fact, full appreciation of the extract relied upon the hope that the audience were well-versed in traditional English literature. A later interview confirmed that all literature used for stimulus was by White male writers. This tends to suggest that Black or women writers have nothing of consequence to offer in discussions about styles of writing and that all literature is either Irish or English.

It became clear from the student interviews that the tutor had spent some time establishing reasons why each of them had come, what they hoped to achieve, and so on. The Afro-Caribbean student had said that she wished to write a novel about Black experience. The tutor was encouraging, but said it was unlikely that there would be any alteration in the stimulus materials used, on the grounds that he used the same kind of material at the college in a class with a high proportion of Afro-Caribbean students.

Four students were interviewed — three female and one male. The interview with the Afro-Caribbean student (recently unemployed) revealed the effect that the class had had in three sessions:

> 'I must admit I don't feel free to talk. Sometimes I'm itching to say something, but ... I think it's because I'm the only Black sat there.'

The two White female students had actively sought information about AE classes. The other two had found out by chance. One male student thought that discussion of racism might polarise the class and implied that it should therefore be avoided. He expressed racist attitudes himself. The others felt that the issues

of racism and sexism should be raised. None of the students expressed preference for mixed/single sex classes. The Black student said she would prefer a Black tutor but the other students had no preference.

16+ English class

The class took place on a Monday evening in a run-down school. The school itself was difficult to get to, with no direct bus route. The classroom walls were bare and the room stark, cold and gloomy; it was in need of decorating. There were not enough tables, so the group of 10 students were cramped around the ones available. The route from the gates to the school to the class was badly lit. The classes were periodically interrupted by a group of young boys who used the yard outside to vent boredom and frustration.

There were 10 students in the class — seven women and three men. There was one Afro-Caribbean male and one Afro-Caribbean female — both also attended the beginners' creative writing class taught by the same tutor.

The lesson observed looked at punctuation and its uses. The tutor aimed to illustrate it as a tool and to demonstrate the various purposes for which it is used. An attempt was made to de-mystify punctuation by pointing out its arbitrary nature. The emphasis was on creating a sense of control within students, and they responded well. Nevertheless, the tutor did not make attempts to draw on creole or dialects spoken by students.

The tutor also dealt with colloquialism, and in a handout entitled *Real Rubbish* introduced the passage for reading by 'There are certain expressions that, in written English, should always make you shudder'. Students may well see this as 'rubbishing' the way they speak. The idea of 'proper' or 'good' English, unless defined as something to do with clarity rather than with social, regional or racial origins, can serve to suggest that those who speak 'proper' English are in some way 'better' and 'superior'.

The tutor had not attempted to discover whether the two Afro-Caribbean students in the class spoke a dialect. However, she did say they had a tendency to make grammatical errors. Such lack of awareness by a tutor can undermine students' own use of English and damage their status in their own eyes and in the eyes of other students.

Tutors expressed a need for a central resource bank of anti-racist materials. Teachers felt they were working in isolation with no opportunity to exchange materials and ideas, and no access to appropriate materials.

Conclusions

English and Creative Writing have enormous potential for anti-racist work, or on the other hand racist work, and tutors need to become aware of the issues of racism themselves. There needs to be further discussion and training about the content of the course itself and the oral component in order to ensure that it does not perpetuate racist practice. Language awareness training would ensure that all tutors are equipped to serve all students. Anti-racist practice has as much to do with good teaching style and attitude (i.e. creating a sense of great autonomy and control within the students) as it has to do with content and materials.

Heavy Arts and Craft

Welding

The class was taught by a Black tutor. There were five White students in the class — four women and one man. The class was housed in a mobile hut at the rear of a centre.

The room itself was cramped, with little space between workbenches. The gas welding equipment, when first used, emits fumes and spits soot which, within minutes, pervades the entire room and settles on the students. Ventilation was not adequate. There were no posters, nor any attempts to brighten the environment — not even basic safety instructions or precautions in English or any other languages.

The tutor demonstrated the skill to be practised and talked students through the exercise for about 30 to 45 minutes. The students then practised the drill in pairs, but even so were frustrated from time to time at having to wait for equipment. The handouts seen were alarmingly few, handwritten, difficult to read and all in English. None reinforced the tutor's oral instructions. The language used was often that which might be levelled at a polytechnic or university student. There was a tendency to do this in the oral delivery too, which meant that some students may have found the situation intimidating and not fully understood what was going on.

Four students were interviewed — all male and all White. All except one came with the specific intention of gaining practical skills. The lack of knowledge of what actually happened in the building and of the facilities in AE generally was reiterated by one student interviewed: 'There's no information about adult education. I don't know how it is funded, for example.' The students generally felt they were getting what they came for, but comments were made about publicity, enrolment, insufficient individual assessment of need and

expectations, lack of equipment, inadequate ventilation in the room, and the wish for more time in class.

Woodwork classes

The classes were held at an AE centre. One of the classes visited was held in the evening, the other during the day. The environment in no way acknowledged the existence of Black people. The walls displayed photographs of White male and female students in and out of the classroom situation. All the information was in English. The tutor was a White full-time male worker and all the students in the evening class were White — eight women and two men. The day-time class had nine White women and one Black Afro-Caribbean male who was absent during the session visited by the project worker. Neither class had been targeted specifically towards women. Written material was minimal and there were no handouts.

The tutor demonstrated a skill (making a simple joint) to the students, pointing out things to watch out for. The students then carried on with the task while the tutor 'hovered' and assisted those who came across problems. Students worked individually. There was not a great deal of communication between them, but this could be because the class had met for only two sessions.

In the daytime class, three students were interviewed — all female. There were comments about lack of tools, but the women were generally pleased with the course and the opportunity to develop woodworking skills. There had been no attempt to tackle issues of racism or sexism in the curriculum, however. One female student felt that this would have made it easier for them to intervene more in class and ask questions.

There were no Black students in the evening class visited. The students found the enrolment procedure bewildering and felt it could be better organised. All expressed frustration at having to wait for tools and thought the woodwork facilities inadequate. One student said that she would have been surprised if the tutor was Black and thought that this might deter some people from coming. The others did not have a preference regarding Black/White tutors. One student said that she would have been pleasantly surprised if the tutor had been a woman. The male student interviewed expressed alarm at the numbers of women in the class, but maintained that he did not have any preference regarding a mixed or single sex class. One female student expressed a preference for a single sex class. Two students offered comments on why they thought Black people were not taking up provision. These included lack of motivation, inappropriate stimulus and environment, intimidation arising from the view that AE is a White middle class thing, as well as the dark driveway and difficulty in locating the building.

All the students, however, enjoyed the class and expressed a wish to continue with woodwork after cessation of the class.

Curriculum recommendations

Recommendations have been organised into general ones and those specific to different curriculum areas. They derive from the curriculum analysis and observations recorded above and more extensively recorded in the full report.

General curriculum and staff development recommendations

— Ethnic monitoring of all AE provision should be introduced to identify where Black students are or are not enrolled, and to enable staff to gauge the success of remedying action.

— Language awareness training is needed (including creole, dialects, first language influence on pronunciation, and language in relation to race, class and gender). All tutors require ESL skills, need to be aware of the different languages spoken within the classroom situation, and have some knowledge of a student who has just begun an ESL class.

— Tutors would benefit from anti-racist staff development focusing on curriculum review and development. Training should make clear the ways in which the issues of class and gender impinge upon the curriculum and connect with issues of race. Those responsible for staff development may require training in issues of race, class and gender. Black staff need to be involved in planning and conducting staff development and curriculum review groups.

— Anti-racist and anti-sexist assessment procedures need to be developed, including a mechanism for self-evaluation for students, in terms of expectations of the course, previous experiences, etc. Regular tutorial sessions to assess student needs, perceptions of the curriculum and self-assessment are needed. Students should indicate which other classes they are attending so that tutors can liaise with other tutors teaching the same students (especially ESL and Linked Skills students).

— Training is required for the teaching/organisation of linked skills approaches, with a largely oral emphasis but catering for those who want literacy, integrating language teaching with skills development. Specialist training in team-teaching is required so that Black tutors are not ascribed a lower status.

— The danger of stereotyping needs (e.g. assuming that Black students automatically want ABE or ESL) should be part of all training sessions.

Anti-racist diagnostic and counselling procedures designed to assess the particular expectations and needs of students are also required. Training should also enable them to challenge racist comments with confidence.

— Since there is a dearth of published, sound anti-racist multicultural materials for AE, time and resources are needed to enable tutors to develop suitable materials themselves for use in both multicultural and all-White courses.

— Centres, classrooms and displays should reflect the achievements of Black people and women in a variety of 'fields'. The division should contact producers of ethnocentric posters outlining the need for an anti-racist perspective. The environment should reflect a multicultural society; information and posters should be multilingual, and handouts written in clear, direct language should be available.

— More intensive efforts are needed to recruit Black students through publicity and outreach work. Enrolment procedures and joining instructions need to be clear and available in appropriate languages.

— Tutors should positively encourage greater student participation in the curriculum, drawing fully on the variety of student experience in classes and adopting a more flexible style/approach.

— Students should be given more information about AE — on funding, other classes and centres, buildings, reception and teaching staff, management and consultative committees, and LEA and divisional aims and policies.

Specific recommendations

Creative Writing and English

— Tutors should develop mechanisms for the assessment of students' expectations/needs and should inquire about students' reading background/previous education/home languages or dialects, etc. The tutor should not necessarily assume that students are familiar with traditionally accepted literary productions.

— If schools need to be used, furniture designed for young children should be avoided where possible, and the environment should reflect a multicultural society.

— Tutors should explore ways of validating student experience, such as local publication of students' work.

Health Education

— The health education aspect should be given a higher profile, but with an ESL framework. The work should take on board findings which highlight the specific needs of Black communities.

— Existing materials, including videos, need to be checked for ethnocentric bias and sensitivity. Action should be taken by management and tutors if required.

— AE should consider providing classes for hospital staff dealing with Black people who are ESL speakers.

New Technology

— A local survey and targeted outreach work could clarify the purpose and content of a computing class for Asian mothers and find out if any misconceptions surround the world of computing.

— More appropriate publicity is needed to de-mystify the world of computers and to explain ways in which they can assist in the learning of other skills such as numeracy, literacy and ESL.

— Tutors in computing should draw up an anti-racist checklist for reviewing software and sending to producers.

— A catalogue of available software should be produced, with a summary of contents and guidance on 'appropriateness' based on an anti-racist, anti-sexist perspective, as well as linguistic and subject-matter suitability.

Linked Skills — Sewing and Practical Skills

— Texts in use in ESL and literacy should be regularly reviewed to ensure they provide positive self-images and create confidence among Black students.

— The practice of compiling writing by students in other areas (Creative Writing/advanced ESL classes) and producing booklets for students should be developed. These booklets could contain photographs which students and tutors on a photography course could assist in producing.

— The ESL Linked Skills approach needs to be further developed. More liaison is needed between tutors of these classes and ESL provision. It

needs to be established whether students attending linked skills classes wish primarily to learn the skill or English to ensure that appropriate teaching takes place. Special attention needs to be paid to the role of Black bilingual tutors.

Heavy Arts and Craft

— Publicity needs to be reviewed to ensure it reaches all groups of students.

— Conditions should be as attractive as possible and the classroom should reflect a multicultural society.

— Special attention needs to be given to ways in which anti-racist strategies can be built into practical courses.

5. STAFF DEVELOPMENT AND SUPPORT NEEDS

Method

The project brief recognised that staff development played an important role in developing tutors' skills in providing AE appropriate for a multicultural clientele. Staff development implications arose from the findings of earlier chapters, but the data for this chapter was mainly gathered by:

— preliminary informal interviews with individual members of staff at the start of the project;

— regular attendance, participation and observation by the project worker at staff meetings, Black workers' meetings, Asian workers' meetings and group meetings held specifically for part-time staff;

— individual and group interviews with full-time staff;

— individual and group interviews with clerical and crèche workers.

The initial informal interviews with staff served to familiarise the project worker with the staff and to 'break the ice'. The group meetings were conducted as workshop sessions where staff were given specific tasks in groups. Attendance problems for part-time staff were overcome by paying participants for attendance. Individual interviews enabled issues to be followed up. It was notable that this was the first time support staff had been involved in a staff-development exercise of this kind.

Individual staff interviews

Objectives

The specific objectives for staff interviews were to discover:

— what staff understood by the term anti-racism;

— whether or not they were aware of the LEA anti-racist policy;

— whether they had taken any anti-racist initiatives in their teaching, to establish the 'form' initiatives have taken;

— whether or not there existed a gap between policy and practice with regard to anti-racism;

— whether staff had attended any staff-development courses related to anti-racism or been involved in meetings where the issues had been raised;

— any obstacles faced by staff in attempting to take anti-racist initiatives;

— whether or not staff held different perceptions/expectations of Black and White students;

— whether staff had taken any positive measures to encourage Black students to come to their classes;

— whether staff had registered changes over the past three years, and determined perceptions/attitudes to these changes;

— whether staff held clear ideas of their job descriptions and responsibilities;

— what forms of assessment were used;

— whether all staff felt able to serve ESL students;

— whether staff had encountered racist comments and how they had responded;

— tutors' perceptions of differences in learning ability, behavioural differences and differences in attitudes to learning between Afro-Caribbean, Asian and White students;

— tutors' perceptions of curriculum areas which would not attract Black students.

It became clear early in the interviews that staff either did not know whether they had job descriptions, were unclear as to what their specific roles were, or had outdated or inadequate ones. The following are quotations from interviews:

'I don't think I have a job description at the moment.'

Tutor: 'Well, basically, I'm a ... co-ordinator'

Interviewer: 'Which means you are responsible for other tutors' teaching.'

Tutor: 'Yes, well, I don't know ... that's rather a bone of contention.'

Another tutor, when asked if outreach work was a part of her job description, replied:

> 'In recruiting students? I think so. My job description doesn't relate at all to the job I'm doing now.'

It became clear that outreach work was not seen by many tutors as part of their role. But outreach work in the full sense is seen by the community as a very important part of the AE tutor's role:

> 'They used to send out to visit homes and to tell us that there were teachers at Mount Pleasant. The teachers used to invite us to their houses; but things have changed.'

A Bangladeshi male past user commented:

> 'When I first came (to England) 10 years ago there were a lot of people who were interested in coming in and teaching people; but times have changed a lot now and nobody seems as willing to give the time.'

This uncertainty and dissatisfaction extended to tutors' understanding and perception of the accountability and management structure:

> 'I don't really know ... the Principal, I presume.'

> 'I don't get any support. If I want to talk about things or problems there is no structure where I could go to someone to ...'

> 'Working in adult education is very difficult because it is so unstructured. I mean I just make up my own job ... sort of.'

> 'Apart from the divisional meetings there is no other way of assessing the development of our work.'

The tutors expressed a need for a more clearly defined structure with a mechanism which allows one-to-one discussions about an individual's work. The obscurity surrounding who is/should be responsible for what is directly linked to the fact that tutors are not always remunerated for additional responsibility. In the case of a Black tutor, in particular, the job description existed but appeared far too broad. A White tutor pointed out:

> 'His job description was already unworkable and they didn't have the money to appoint a separate co-ordinator and so they tagged it to (his) job description.'

Unsatisfactory job descriptions (whether non-existent or too broad) can serve to create and nurture frustration and a sense of failure. There needs to be a move towards drawing up 'realistic' tasks for all tutors in order to avoid situations where no one objective is tackled adequately. An overloaded job description can give the impression that certain responsibilities are being dealt with, when in reality they are not. Where Black tutors are involved this could lead to a further entrenchment of racist attitudes. Black people, by virtue of their 'blackness', have an immediate set of obstacles to face before even embarking on attempts to carry out their specified roles.

> 'I think sometimes they pick Black people off the streets and put them in the deep end and say we have a Black worker ...'
>
> (Black tutor)

> 'I think because I'm the only Asian there and I'm the only Asian who's bilingual, I'm always lumbered with other jobs which aren't in my job description. I've got to be the receptionist, advice worker, sometimes, as well as a tutor.'
>
> (Asian tutor)

If developing and implementing anti-racist curriculum strategies is to be taken seriously, there should be a person responsible for co-ordinating and monitoring work in each curriculum area. There is currently no one responsible for several curriculum areas.

Linked with support needs is the need for staff training. Some Black staff have been appointed under 'positive action'. Although most have good qualifications, they do not all relate to their current work in AE.

> 'Apart from part-time work for one year, I've had no training. I have got a lot of experience, but I've no formal training — not for teaching anyway. I was learning everything and I was learning through my mistakes.'

This tutor had been given little support and had organised her own staff development. She had completed a Stage I course during her first year in AE, was doing an RSA Certificate since embarking on the new job, and was currently attending a further course.

Both Black and White tutors expressed strong dissatisfaction regarding initial induction and support within the division. One White tutor commented on his own training:

> 'No, the only person I had then was the adviser and that wasn't very satisfactory. The ones I feel sorry for in our division at the moment are all the Section 11 workers. I've gone through an experience process where I've found my own niche, as it were, and I can operate on my own to a large extent; but this Section 11 thing to my mind has been horribly done. People coming in and drifting about with no support, no one to pull it together. From my point of view there should have been a Section 11 co-ordinator; that person would be responsible to the Divisional Principal and the co-ordinator would take on the support and advisory role for the Section 11 workers instead of throwing individuals in.'

Another White tutor who had been working in the division for five years made the comment:

> 'I think they still need a lot of support'

when referring specifically to Black tutors.

The lack of a support structure with adequate induction and staff development contradicts the anti-racist intention behind positive action. Some Black tutors appointed may be seen to fail and this may lend credence to generally held myths regarding the incapabilities of Black people. This situation serves to perpetuate racism.

Some Black tutors had experienced examples of racist behaviour or remarks, both from students and staff:

> 'Yes, I remember when I took a class and I heard a comment from a White student saying "Oh it's the blind leading the blind again is it?"'

> 'I have heard White students making negative remarks about Black people to our technician who is Black.'

> 'I have come across a lot of racist comments. ... one of the office workers, she'd say "Oh I'm sick of all these Black people coming here, they're taking all our jobs and coming into centres where young people meet; what have we got ...?"'

The interviews revealed that tutors were hazy about what the term anti-racism actually meant and what anti-racist strategies they might undertake. Examples of responses made were:

> 'I don't know if this is the right answer, but for me anti-racism means, as I've said before, an understanding of cultures, of people of all kinds — Black, White, purple, green, whatever they like. Anti-racism means breaking down a colour barrier to get to peoples' personal feelings and how we think of each other.'

> 'Not being racist. Not being racist in terms of attitudes, images, treatment of other people.'

> 'I think the term means power and if you're White you're domineering; but having said that, anti-racism gives people, especially the Black people, the opportunity.'

> 'Treating the other race with prejudice and power and therefore anti-racism is working against this.'

Clearly, some responses relied upon recalling and piecing together received definitions, and others smack of philanthropic goodwill towards Black minority ethnic groups. Despite the fact that the tutors interviewed have been to a greater or lesser extent involved in discussion of anti-racist issues, the complexities of the nature of racism remain untouched and unexplored. Moreover, it became clear in the course of the interviews that some tutors who made references to 'power' and groups dominating other groups were unclear as to what anti-racism means within the teaching situation. They appeared to have acquired an 'accepted' terminology but not to have worked out how it would be applied in practice.

All the tutors interviewed, except one Black tutor, had heard about the LEA's anti-racist policy and the proposed anti-racist code of practice. However, there was a general feeling that pieces of paper issuing directives are not accepted with good grace. One White tutor commented:

> 'If you say "Read that, it's new Council policy" ... the usual response is, "What's it got to do with me? I'm not against Black people"... or... "I treat them just the same as White people", and oddly enough you accept that in a way they're speaking the truth and you've got to take it on board from there.'

> 'Just getting lots of bits of paper puts me off; it makes me feel negative about it. I've got lots of other things to do. I suppose it hasn't had a very positive effect on me at all.'

Tutors were asked whether their centre had been active in taking anti-racist initiatives:

> 'I think only in a very small way. I know there is, in a sense... I mean I think it is good to have Black tutors up there'.

> 'I don't know how I would tackle it. I don't feel very confident.'

> 'We need support as White workers; we need support to know what your feelings are, what you feel you need as Black people in Sheffield, and to help us respond to these needs, so that the whole lot of us can, hopefully, one day come together. I feel I need help in understanding what it's all about.'

The latter respondent was placing the responsibility on Black people to tell tutors what their needs are — work needs to be done to shift the emphasis towards recognition that White people need to become aware of racism and to accept responsibility for change themselves.

Tutors were also asked about their confidence in teaching bilingual students. Many tutors were still at the level of thinking that because they've had experience in teaching literacy they could cope with ESL speakers coming to their classes. Others recognised that, in order to effectively teach such students, specific skills are required. Currently only the tutors appointed specifically for ESL appear to be fully capable of teaching ESL students. One Black tutor who had ESL students coming to his practical class said:

> 'There was an idea where I was supposed to work with an ESL teacher. I was supposed to get some resources from this tutor — sort of technical language that I could use in my class and feed back the sort of problems that occurred ... but it never took off.'

There is a need for in-service training to transmit some of the fundamental skills of ESL teaching to all staff.

Tutors were also asked about their knowledge of the different backgrounds of Black people. Responses included:

'I'm very lacking in that sort of knowledge. I mean Asians — I know they speak Urdu, Punjabi and other languages, but I don't know if they're related.'

'It's always been difficult to remember Asian names. I support because they're totally new.'

'I think we ought to have a lot more about faiths, religions and what people feel; the knowledge that we're not treading on peoples' toes about specific festivals.'

'You become aware of things like Ramadan and then, probably because you're friendly with people, they'll explain. Probably a profile of the area would be useful.'

The tutors felt that information on naming systems, dates of major religious festivals and a profile of the division giving general information about the languages spoken in the area and dialects should be included in a staff handbook. This would help to avoid tutors falling into the trap of stereotyping.

Several tutors had been on an anti-racist training session organised in the division. They were asked about their experience, and whether they felt more confident about adopting an anti-racist approach to teaching:

'I found it quite useful because I was seriously concerned about certain appointments that had been made — positive discrimination. I wasn't really very happy about it and I did express my views.'

'But the only thing was it was a one-off and there was no follow through ... it was a bit like the blind leading the blind at that stage. I think it did disturb a lot of people who hadn't really thought about it, and it was a bit irresponsible not to follow it through.'

'I got a lot out of it personally; it did me good. A lot of people went in really negatively and I think it reinforced that negativeness.'

The tutors were asked what the main constraints on the development of anti-racist strategies in the curriculum were:

'Financial restrictions most definitely; staff development — lack of it because I can't get any training for the staff because I can't get any money to pay them to attend the sessions.'

'Financial — if you're going to put courses on and we need more staff development.'

'I would say support; sometimes I have doubts about centre commitment but you can't ignore the fact that it can be time consuming. If it isn't given time by the management then that is a limitation.'

Tutors were also asked to comment on their perception of different groups of students. Some of the responses showed evidence of stereotypical thinking on the part of tutors:

'The Asians ... are more interested in education than a White person would be.'

'Well, obviously, a lot of White English are just conditioned to the White education system so they can fit into that more easily because that's what they've known all their lives, whereas an Asian student ... they are obviously going to have more difficulty with the educational framework.'

'I would have thought Afro-Caribbean students would be attracted more to practical courses, e.g. electronics, welding, etc. Asians seem much more, I don't know, they are apt to sit down and concentrate a lot more than Afro-Caribbeans do. They seem quite hardworking.'

'I couldn't say that the Blacks are any different from the Whites. I would say the working class gravitate more to the practical things.'

Part-timers' meeting

Eighteen part-timers attended the part-timers' meeting — five from Abbeydale Hall, five from Mount Pleasant, four from Holt House and four from other smaller centres in the Sheaf Valley Division. Subjects taught were Dressmaking, Upholstery, Woodwork, Floral Art, ESL, English, Keep Fit, Human Biology, Literacy, Urdu, Typing and Gardening. There are over 100 part-time tutors within the division.

The meeting opened with an introduction to the project which presented an outline of the aims of the first phase and the structure and methodology. A résumé of the work done to date was given and a summary of the areas of investigation was passed around.

The group was then asked to engage in an exercise based on a role-played interview about seeking accommodation, adapted from the poem by Wole Soyinka, 'Telephone Conversation', in which a landlady hangs up on discovering that the man at the other end of the line is Black. The exercise was

followed by structured activities and discussion which focused on tutors' own situations.

It became clear that, for some, this was the first meeting at which any anti-racist issues had been raised. Staff development opportunities of any kind are, it would appear, quite rare for part-timers. Some people had not actually met or spoken to each other for quite some time and the temptation simply to 'catch up' on other areas of interest related to their work was strong and hardly surprising. The structure does not set aside enough time and funding for part-time tutors to meet regularly. This means that channels of communication are poor, and there is no effective network or system through which tutors can share resources, experiences and expertise even within their own subject areas (for example, only two part-timers were aware that there was currently a draft anti-racist policy in circulation). To enable people to take a serious and radical look at what they are doing at the moment, with a view to understanding and adopting an anti-racist perspective, more training programmes are required for all tutors.

The group was varied in levels of awareness. There were those who had already begun to develop, or at least use, existing multicultural materials — there was still quite a degree of confusion surrounding the difference between anti-racist and multicultural approaches. For the majority, however, the meeting served as an initial trigger which set in motion thinking about anti-racist issues.

Some people felt that anti-racist issues could be raised only if there was a Black person in the class, and that unless this was the case White students would see the exercise as irrelevant. Others felt that multicultural materials with an anti-racist perspective were not applicable to them as their groups were all-White. For at least 50% of the group 'colour-blindness' seemed to provide the answer — 'to treat all the people the same'. However, concern was also expressed about the tendency to assume that Black people would only be interested in certain types of courses — ABE, ESL and sewing for example. One group pointed out the tendency to marginalise provision for Black people and to make assumptions as to what their needs are. One ESL tutor raised concern about compartmentalising usage of materials reflecting different lifestyles — for example, using only materials which reflect Pakistani lifestyles for Pakistanis, Yemeni lifestyles for Yemenis, etc. It was felt that we should be exposing all groups (including White) to a variety of different lifestyles and that all tutors should be aware of language and cultural differences.

Some frustration regarding the lack of Black student uptake in certain courses was articulated. A number of different reasons as to why this might be the case were raised. It was felt that translators were needed at enrolment sessions, for example, and that information about all courses on offer should be translated

(not just sections seen by tutors as relevant to Black people). In addition to this, more outreach work was suggested.

For part-time work to lose its low-status image it has to be given a higher profile in terms of firm contracts and clearly defined job descriptions. Failure to do this will result in a perpetuation of the current situation where the majority of part-time staff feel on the periphery of the AE system and therefore pay little or no heed to new initiatives. Anti-racist and related staff-development sessions and meetings need to be seen as an integral part of part-timers' roles. To be actively engaged in issues like racism and sexism, part-timers need to feel part of the machinery and be involved in meetings and training sessions related to these and other issues. They need to be involved in regular staff meetings and be part of the decision-making process. Issues like language awareness, understanding the needs of bilingual speakers, and the backgrounds of students needed assessment methods of need to be developed.

Full-timers' meeting

Staff were asked to consider their support and staff development needs with regard to:

— curriculum development;

— challenging racist comments;

— developing appropriate assessment procedures;

— structural and organisational changes;

— personal support needs.

The main recommendations which emerged are summarised below.

Curriculum development

— More bilingual outreach workers are required to find out the needs of the community; there should be greater involvement of outreach workers in the recruitment process.

— Mainstream courses should be changed to become more relevant to Black students' needs.

— Tutors and staff developers would benefit from anti-racist training on guidance counselling, curriculum development and publicity. Training is needed to make clear the ways in which the issues of race, class and gender

impinge on the curriculum. Black staff should be involved in planning and conducting such training.

— There should be an anti-racist/multicultural resource centre set up within one of the main centres.

— Tutors should positively encourage greater student participation in the curriculum. They may require retraining to enable them to adopt a 'flexible teaching style' approach. Discussions are needed to re-examine what is understood by 'curriculum' and to talk through the implications for methods of teaching in moving towards greater student participation.

— Black tutors may also require training and opportunities in order to understand the ways in which racism operates and increase their skills and confidence.

Challenging racist comments

— Tutors require training to enable them to challenge racist comments with confidence.

— Students should be made aware of the anti-racist code of practice.

Developing appropriate assessment procedures

Under this heading, tutors concentrated on their own personal support needs and assessment of their own work. There was little understanding of how means of assessing students might be reviewed and changed. There is an urgent need for tutors to begin this discussion to develop a recognition and understanding of the ways in which some forms of assessment can serve to 'fail' individuals unless they are informed and underpinned by awareness of race, class and gender issues.

Structural and organisational changes

— Centres should critically review the public face of the establishment in the light of the anti-racist policy, and thereby render them more 'accessible'. There should be a sensitivity towards and a positive recognition of cultural and religious requirements of both staff and students.

— The reception area should be staffed by Black and bilingual as well as White staff.

— There needs to be greater involvement and consultation with students on structural issues such as AE management and consultation systems.

— The composition of management committees should reflect the diversity of local communities.

— All staff, including non-teaching, should have anti-racist training.

— Support facilities such as crèches and cafeterias should reflect good anti-racist practice for a multicultural context.

— Classroom materials and publicity should reflect a multicultural society.

Personal support needs

— There is a need to develop better liaison and communication channels with part-timers.

— Time is needed for team discussions on tutor self-appraisal and effectiveness.

— Time is required for part-timers to assess their work with full-time staff.

— The structure should encourage better communication between staff, co-ordination and monitoring of individual tutors' work and a system of accountability.

— In-service training should be available for full-time and part-time staff.

— New recruits should receive more information on management structures and budgets of AE.

— Clearer and more 'realistic' job descriptions should be drawn up.

Clerical workers' meeting

This was the first time a meeting of this nature had taken place with clerical workers. The group was given three points as guidelines for discussion:

— What constitutes a racist comment? How might one challenge such a comment?

— Can you recall any situation in the past when you have felt less than confident or awkward or uncomfortable when trying to respond to an enquiry from a Black person?

— What do you know about the different Black groups that live in Sheaf Valley?

The clerical staff made the following points:

— Better liaison between clerical and teaching staff is needed. In order to facilitate this, time should be built into clerical staff's contracts to attend staff meetings.

— Discussion, meetings and anti-racist training are needed to assist White people in deciding what constitutes a racist comment and reacting to it, as their views may be different from Black people's perceptions.

— Staff development should be made available to clerical staff — this is not the case currently. Cover should also be provided to enable clerical staff to attend staff development courses.

— Anti-racist resources should be made available to clerical as well as teaching staff.

— There should be explanations and discussions on why anti-racist policies have been formulated.

Crèche workers' interviews

The data for this section was arrived at from interviews conducted with an Afro-Caribbean and White crèche worker at one centre in a multiracial area and two White crèche workers at another centre in a 'White' area.

The interview schedule was designed:

— to find out what they understood by the term anti-racism;

— to ascertain their awareness of the post-16 anti-racist policy and the anti-racist code of practice;

— to discover what training (including anti-racist) the workers have had;

— to discover whether the staff participated in weekly staff meetings, and if not why not;

— to find out whether crèche workers had adopted an anti-racist/ multicultural approach in the crèche;

— to discover what resources were available to support implementation;

— to find out which factors served as limitations on their freedom of action;

— to discover their awareness of the different cultural and language backgrounds of the children;

— to establish whether or not there was parental involvement in the crèche, and if so whether both Black and White parents were involved;

— to find out whether they had come across racist comments in the crèche, from the children or parents.

The crèche workers at the 'all-White' centre expressed strong antagonism towards the City Council's anti-racist policy:

> 'I just think they go over the top of everything, that they make their own problem by pointing it out, that they emphasise things, that they make a problem where there isn't.'

Much bitterness was expressed over the fact that they had never been involved in any discussions concerning anti-racism nor been on any related in-service training. The feeling was:

> 'We don't exist; we're only the crèche workers.'

At another centre, none of the crèche workers had ever been involved in or invited to attend weekly staff meetings and they did not feel that they were integrated into the life and work of the centre.

The original full report contains a detailed account of conversations with both sets of crèche workers; those from the 'all-White' centre reveal a disturbing level of racism, while those from the other centre reveal a lack of training on dealing with a multicultural and multilingual clientele. The interviews raise serious questions about the priority given to support staff training, which have also been raised in other research (e.g. *FE in Black and White*, FEU, 1987) and should be consulted for further details.

The interviews also reveal that channels of communication need to be opened up between teaching staff and crèche workers. Crèche workers need to be involved in centre meetings. There is currently the absence of a 'language policy' in the crèche. There is no 'thought out' strategy on how to encourage non-English speaking children to speak English. Much work could be done with children of parents who attend regularly. Some of the parents in the sewing classes, for example, have been attending for two or more years on a regular basis. The crèche workers' perceptions concerning Asian children are disturbing. There is a

tendency to asume that Black women attend only ESL classes (this is evident in the full report). There is a very limited knowledge of overall AE provision.

Recommendations — staff development and support needs

The following is a summary of recommendations arising from meetings/ workshops and interviews with teaching and non-teaching staff.

— All newly recruited staff should have a period of induction which gives information about the AE service — the management structure, funding, composition of staff — part-timers, full-timers and staff working under Section 11 — and different community groups. A handbook should give information about where groups originally came from, different naming systems, languages spoken/dialects, and a calendar of the main religious festivals.

— Staff should have a clearly worked out job description, with outreach work time clearly defined and given higher profile. This should be made clear at the advertising stage and further emphasised at the interview. It should be clear that staff are expected to carry out outreach work in the week prior to re-start of classes; part of the outreach work includes liaising with different community groups on a regular basis. Existing job descriptions require redefining and updating with more realistic briefs, and should be drawn up with the needs of local communities in mind.

— Training, which enables staff to discuss the issues and terminology of racism and make connections with other aspects of equal opportunity such as gender and class, should be provided for all staff. The format should be anti-racist workshops focusing on the practical action staff can take in their own jobs and workplaces. However, it should involve a recognition of the negative aspects of some racism awareness training that has taken place in the past. Black staff should be involved in planning and delivery.

— Black staff should not be appointed under positive action programmes without an in-built agreement to provide necessary support in terms of appropriate in-service training and other support. Black staff need Black training sessions and facilities to meet regularly for mutual support.

— If staff are also to be seen as 'counsellors', and since much counselling is 'culturally specific', many skills involved in counselling could well break down in a cross-cultural context. Specialist training is required.

— Other skills, such as team-teaching with bilingual tutors, need specialist assistance and training. A system for staff to visit and observe each other's classes would facilitate this.

— Staff themselves have a number of different skills to offer (from past experience, etc.) which should be positively validated. They should be given opportunities to service these skills. Staff should be consulted and involved in the planning and delivery of in-service training where possible.

— Staff being asked to develop new approaches need allocated time to develop their own displays/materials, etc. They also need access to a resource bank/centre of anti-racist materials, Black literature and other relevant materials.

— Staff development needs to include clerical and other support staff. A mechanism is needed to provide cover for support staff while they are attending training sessions; attendance at staff meetings should be normal practice in AE. Exchanges for support staff between 'all-White' and multiracial centres should be organised.

— Channels of communication and consultation need to be established between full-time/part-time workers and between FE and AE staff.

— AE centres should develop a 'twinning system' which would allow exchanges of staff between centres serving different areas.

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The objects for which the **Further Education Unit (FEU)** is established are to promote, encourage and develop the efficient provision of further education in the United Kingdom and for that purpose:

a) to review and evaluate the range of existing further education curricula and programmes and to identify overlap, duplication, deficiencies and inconsistencies therein;
b) to determine priorities for action to improve the provision of further education and to make recommendations as to how such improvement can be effected;
c) to carry out studies in further education and to support investigations of and experimentation in, and the development of, further education curricula and to contribute to and assist in the evaluation of initiatives in further education;
d) to disseminate and publish, and to assist in the dissemination and publication of, information about recommendations for and experiments and developments in further education.

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